

CIA/OCI/BRIEF 183-75
28 NOVEMBER 1975

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MIDDLE EAST AFRICA BRIEF 183-75.4

1. LEBANON: LEBANESE PRESIDENT FRANJIYAH HAS MOVED TO DEFEND HIMSELF AGAINST RECENT HEAVY ATTACKS BY HIS MUSLIM, LEFTIST, AND CHRISTIAN CRITICS. SPEAKING TO THE CABINET WEDNESDAY, HE SAID HE WOULD DISREGARD CRITICISM OF HIM PERSONALLY, BUT THAT ATTACKS ON THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT WERE HARMING THE COUNTRY AND SHOULD CASE. 4

THE PRESIDENT SAID HIS OPPONENTS' CONTRADICTIONARY CHARGES THAT HE HAS NOT BEEN ASSERTIVE ENOUGH AND THAT HIS POWERS SHOULD BE LIMITED PROVE THAT HE IS MAINTAINING A PROPER, MIDDLE-OF-THE-ROAD POLICY. FRANJIYAH ASSERTED THAT POLITICAL REFORM CANNOT BE FORCED BY CONTINUED FIGHTING, BUT MUST GROW OUT OF POLITICAL NEGOTIATION. HE SAID THE GOVERNMENT IS PREPARED TO CONSIDER SERIOUSLY ANY "WELL-STUDIED PLANS" FOR POLITICAL, SOCIAL, OR ECONOMIC REFORMS.

LEBANESE LEFTISTS WILL NOT BE SWAYED BY THESE ARGUMENTS. 4

FRANJIYAH'S LESS-RADICAL MUSLIM CRITICS--INCLUDING PRIME MINISTER KARAMI--MAY AT LEAST BE WILLING TO TEST HIM BY PROPOSING SPECIFIC REFORMS. KARAMI FOLLOWED FRANJIYAH IN ADDRESSING THE CABINET, AND

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ADOPTED A MUCH MORE CONCILIATORY POSITION THAN HE HAD TAKEN EARLY IN THE WEEK. KARAMI MAY TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO URGE THAT HE AND FRANJIYAH BEGIN THE JOINT SESSIONS AT WHICH THEY ARE SUPPOSED TO DRAFT SPECIFIC RREFORM PROPOSALS.4

THE FIRST TEST OF FRANJIYAH APPARENTLY WILL COME FROM GHASSAN TUWAYNI, A CHRISTIAN MEMBER OF THE CABINET. TUWAYNI, WHO THIS WEEK REAFFIRMED HIS POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE BY MEDIATING THE DISPUTE BETWEEN KARAMI AND INTERIOR MINISTER SHAMUN, CHARGED ON WEDNESDAY THAT THE CABINET SHOULD RESIGN IF IT CANNOT STOP ITS INTERNAL SQUABBLING AND RESTORE CIVIL ORDER. TUWAYNI REPORTEDLY HAS PROPOSED A DETAILED PROGRAM THAT OVER A THREE-WEEK PERIOD WOULD IMPLEMENT A CEASE-FIRE AND LAUNCH SPECIFIC SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC REFORMS.1

THE SUCCESS OF THIS PLAN, IF IT WINS CABINET APPROVAL, WILL HINGE ON THE WILLINGNESS OF THE COUNTRY'S POLITICAL LEADERS TO HAVE THEIR PRIVATE MILITIAS ACT AS A NATIONAL GUARD IN PATROLLING BEIRUT.4
LEADERS OF THE RIGHT-WING PHALANGES PARTY MAY WELCOME BOTH FRANJIYAH'S SPEECH AND TUWAYNI'S INITIATIVE. THEY WILL SEE FRANJIYAH'S WILLINGNESS TO SPEAK UP FOR CHRISTIAN INTERESTS AS

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PROVIDING AT LEAST SOME ASSURANCE THAT THEY WILL BE ABLE TO RESIST GIVING UP TOO MUCH IN ANY NEGOTIATIONS THAT MIGHT FOLLOW A CEASE-FIRE. A CEASE-FIRE, AT A MINIMUM, WOULD PROVIDE ANOTHER OPPORTUNITY TO REARM. THE PHALANGISTS, LIKE THE OTHER CHRISTIAN GROUPS, REMAIN PESSIMISTIC THAT THE MUSLIMS WILL TEMPER THEIR POLITICAL DEMANDS TO THE EXTENT NECESSARY TO ALLOW AGREEMENT ON FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES.4

ANY NEGOTIATIONS WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS WOULD BUY TIME, HOWEVER, AND WOULD ALLOW THE CHRISTIANS TO CONTEND THAT THEY WERE HEEDING THE ADVICE OF FOREIGN MEDIATORS WHO COUNSEL A MORE CONCILIATORY ATTITUDE.4

ACCORDING TO ONE REPORT, EVEN THE ULTRA-CONSERVATIVE MARONITE MONKS MAY HAVE BECOME SLIGHTLY MORE REASONABLE AS A RESULT OF URGINGS FROM THE VATICAN EARLY THIS MONTH. THERE IS NO CHANCE THE MONKS WILL ENDORSE PROPOSALS FOR POLITICAL REFORM, BUT EVEN REDUCED OPPOSITION FROM THEM WOULD GIVE CONSERVATIVE CHRISTIANS LIKE FRANJIYAH MORE FREEDOM TO NEGOTIATE. MARONITE RELIGIOUS ORDERS AND LAY GROUPS ARE A PRINCIPAL SOURCE OF ARMS AND FUNDS FOR THE CHRISTIAN MILITIAS.4

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THE TENTATIVE SIGNS OF POLITICAL PROGRESS HAVE COMBINED WITH HEAVY RAINS TO REDUCE THE FIGHTING IN BEIRUT. GOVERNMENT SPOKESMEN ARE CAUTIOUSLY OPTIMISTIC THAT COMMERCIAL ACTIVITY CAN RESUME ON MONDAY. {SECRET}

2. SPANISH SAHARA: ALGERIA AND TANZANIA INITIATED A PROPOSAL IN THE UN TRUSTEESHIP COMMITTEE OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY EARLIER THIS WEEK FOR A DRAFT RESOLUTION ON SPANISH SAHARA. THIS GAMBIT IS PART OF ALGIERS' CONTINUING CAMPAIGN FOR A FULL-SCALE GENERAL ASSEMBLY DEBATE ON THE RECENT SPANISH-MOROCCAN-MAURITANIAN AGREEMENT, WHICH PROVIDES FOR A PHASED TURNOVER OF THE TERRITORY TO RABAT AND NOUAKCHOTT.4

THE ALGERIAN-TANZANIAN PROPOSAL CALLS FOR SPAIN TO TRANSFER ADMINISTRATION OF THE TERRITORY TO THE UN NEXT FEBRUARY AND LEAVE ITS MILITARY FORCES IN PLACE UNDER UN CONTROL. THE UN WOULD ADMINISTER THE TERRITORY FOR SIX MONTHS WHILE A COMMISSION OF THE UN REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL FOUR PARTIES TO THE DISPUTE WOULD DETERMINE THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE. THIS IS UNACCEPTABLE TO MADRID, RABAT, AND NOUAKCHOTT, WHICH ARE SEEKING TO LIMIT UN

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DEBATE AND SECURE UN ACQUIESCENCE TO THE TRILATERAL AGREEMENT.

ALTHOUGH THE PROPOSAL DOES NOT SPELL OUT HOW THE COMMISSION WOULD DETERMINE THE POPULAR WILL, BOTH ALGERIAN AND TANZANIAN SPOKESMEN HAVE STRONGLY ENDORSED A REFERENDUM IN STATEMENTS BEFORE THE TRUSTEESHIP COMMITTEE.4

ALGIERS IS TRYING TO FORCE THE ISSUE INTO THE FULL GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND HOPES THAT TANZANIAN COSPONSORSHIP WILL HELP SECURE BROAD AFRICAN SUPPORT. THE ALGERIANS WANT THE ASSEMBLY TO REJECT THE TRILATERAL ARRANGEMENT WORKED OUT IN MADRID AND CALL FOR A REFERENDUM ON SELF-DETERMINATION. ALGIERS WILL USE ITS CONSIDERABLE INFLUENCE AS FORMAL HEAD OF THE NONALIGNED MOVEMENT TO TRY TO ACHIEVE THIS GOAL. {CONFIDENTIAL}4

3. RHODESIA: PRIME MINISTER IAN SMITH AND JOSHUA NKOMO, THE LEADER OF A MAJOR FACTION OF RHODESIAN NATIONALISTS, MAY SOON PUBLICLY SIGN A "DECLARATION OF INTENT" TO ENGAGE IN EARLY SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS ON A POSSIBLE SETTLEMENT OF THE RHODESIAN QUESTION.4

THE DECLARATION APPARENTLY WOULD INCORPORATE AN AGREEMENT ON PROCEDURAL MATTERS, INCLUDING IMMUNITY FOR NATIONALISTS PARTICIPATING

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IN SETTLEMENT TALKS. A CONFERENCE AT VICTORIA FALLS LAST AUGUST BETWEEN SMITH AND A BROAD COALITION OF NATIONALISTS BROKE DOWN OVER SMITH'S REFUSAL TO GRANT IMMUNITY FROM DETENTION TO ALL THE NATIONALIST LEADERS.4

BOTH NKOMO AND SMITH HAVE STATED PUBLICLY THAT THEY HAVE MADE PROGRESS IN THEIR PRIVATE TALKS OVER THE PAST SEVERAL WEEKS.4

THE TWO LEADERS WERE REPORTEDLY PLANNING TO SIGN THE DECLARATION WHEN SMITH RETURNS TO SALISBURY FROM HIS CURRENT SOUTH AFRICAN VACATION ON DECEMBER 2. NKOMO IS NOW PRESSING, HOWEVER, FOR AN EARLIER SIGNING--THIS FRIDAY OR EVEN SOONER--AND HOPES THE SOUTH AFRICANS WILL PERSUADE SMITH TO AGREE.4

WITH WORD OF THE PROCEDURAL AGREEMENT BEGINNING TO LEAK OUT, NKOMO IS ANXIOUS TO DENY RIVAL NATIONALISTS SUCH AS BISHOP MUTOREWA AND NDABANINGI SITHOLE TIME TO MOUNT A CAMPAIGN AGAINST IT BEFORE IT IS EVEN SURFACED. SITHOLE HAS ALREADY DENOUNCED NKOMO FOR SELLING OUT RHODESIA'S BLACKS.4

SMITH IS NOW SAID TO BE READY TO GRANT IMMUNITY TO NEGOTIATORS NAMED BY NKOMO. THE PRIME MINISTER APPARENTLY BELIEVES--THERE MAY BE AN UNDERSTANDING--THAT

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INDEED BE AN UNDERSTANDING--THAT NKOMO WILL TRY TO BROADEN HIS SUPPORT BY INVITING MUZOREWA AND HIS FOLLOWERS TO PARTICIPATE IN THE TALKS, BUT WILL EXCLUDE SITHOLE, WHO IS ANATHEMA TO SMITH.4

FOLLOWING HIS RECENT TALKS WITH SMITH, NKOMO HAS BEEN SEEKING SUPPORT FOR THE DECLARATION FROM THE FOUR AFRICAN PRESIDENTS WHO HAVE BEEN TRYING TO ARRANGE A THODESIAN SETTLEMENT IN COLLABORATION WITH SOUTH AFRICAN PRIME MINISTER VORSTER. NKOMO APPARENTLY CAN COUNT ON THE BACKING OF ZAMBIAN PRESIDENT KAUNDA AND BOTSWANAN PRESIDENT KHAMA. HE REPORTEDLY SECURED THE AGREEMENT OF TANZANIAN PRESIDENT NYERERE, WHO HAS BEEN SYMPATHETIC TO MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE, NOT TO OPPOSE EFFORTS TO NEGOTIATE A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT.4

ON TUESDAY, NKOMO WAS DUE IN LOURENCO MARQUES TO TRY TO GET SIMILAR ASSURANCES FROM MOZAMBIKAN PRESIDENT MACHEL, WHO ALSO FAVORS MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE. {CONFIDENTIAL}4 E-2 IMPDET.4

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WESTERN HEMISPHERE BRIEF 163-75.V

//PERU: PRESIDENT MORALES BERNUDEZ REPORTEDLY IS CONSIDERING ESTABLISHING A MINISTRY OF DEFENSE, AMONG OTHER THINGS, TO ENABLE THE CURRENT PRIME MINISTER, ARMY GENERAL VARGAS PRIETO, TO REMAIN INFLUENTIAL IN THE GOVERNMENT AFTER HIS MANDATORY RETIREMENT NEXT FEBRUARY. VARGAS IS A LONG-TIME ASSOCIATE OF THE PRESIDENT AND IS POLITICALLY MORE MODERATE THAN ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF FERNANDEZ MALDONADO, WHO IS SCHEDULED TO SUCCEED HIM.//Y

//A DEFENSE MINISTRY WOULD DILUTE TO SOME EXTENT THE POWERS NOW EXERCISED BY THE PRIME MINISTER, WHO ALSO SERVES AS MINISTER OF WAR AND COMMANDING GENERAL OF THE ARMY. AT LEAST ONE OF THESE THREE POSITIONS, THE WAR MINISTRY, MIGHT BE ABOLISHED IF A DEFENSE MINISTRY IS FORMED. THE ARGUMENT THAT A DEFENSE MINISTRY WOULD BRING A GREATER DEGREE OF RATIONALITY AND COHESIVENESS TO NATIONAL DEFENSE PLANNING, WHILE PLAUSIBLE, IS ALMOST CERTAIN TO ENGENDER OPPOSITION FROM CABINET-LEVEL OFFICERS AND IMPORTANT TROOP COMMANDERS WHO MAY FEAR THEIR AUTHORITY WILL BE DIMINISHED.//Y

//OPPOSITION BY THE OFFICER CORPS IN LATE 1974 TO A SCHEME BY

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FORMER PRESIDENT VELASCO TO CREATE THE POST-OF VICE PRESIDENT FORCED HIM TO ABANDON THE PLAN. PRESIDENT MORALES BERNUDEZ IS IN A BETTER POSITION TO DEFEND THIS LATEST SCHEME, SHOULD HE GO AHEAD WITH IT. IN THE FIRST PLACE, THE FORMAL REQUIREMENTS FOR CREATING A NEW CABINET POST--AS OPPOSED TO A VICE PRESIDENCY WHICH ARGUABLY IS NOT A "MINISTRY"--ARE MINIMAL: UNDER THE TERMS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY STATUTE AND THE 1933 CONSTITUTION, THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC HAS EFFECTIVE POWER TO DETERMINE THE NUMBER OF MINISTRIES AND WHO WILL STAFF THEM.//4

//ALTHOUGH THE PRESIDENT WOULD NEED THE CONCURRENCE OF THE THREE SERVICE CHIEFS, WHO COLLECTIVELY CONSTITUTE THE REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA, THE FACT THAT A DEFENSE MINISTRY WOULD BE A USEFUL BUREAUCRATIC TOOL AND NOT BE AN OBVIOUS MOVE TO FURTHER THE AMBITIONS OF A PARTICULAR GENERAL, ADDS TO THE PROPOSAL'S ATTRACTIVENESS. THE FAILURE OF VELASCO'S PLOY TO CREATE A VICE PRESIDENCY WAS ASSURED WHEN IT BECAME APPARENT THAT IT WOULD BE USED TO BOOST GENERAL GRAHAM HURTADO, WHO WAS RECENTLY OUSTED BY MORALES BERNUDEZ. THERE IS NO EVIDENCE TO SUGGEST THAT MORALES BERNUDEZ INTENDS TO USE A DEFENSE MINISTRY FOR

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SIMILAR PURPOSES; THE DUTIES OF A DEFENSE MINISTER WOULD NOT LEND THEMSELVES TO POLITICAL ACTIVITY AS WOULD THOSE OF A VICE PRESIDENT-//

//MORALES BERMUDEZ AND SOME OF HIS ASSOCIATES PROBABLY BELIEVE THAT A DEFENSE MINISTRY WOULD FIT INTO AN OVERALL PLAN TO REDUCE RADICAL INFLUENCE IN THE GOVERNMENT, BRING ORDER TO THE REGIME'S STIFLING BUREAUCRACY, AND GENERALLY PLACE THE PRESIDENT'S IMPRINT ON THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS. THE PRECISE CHANGES THAT MAY RESULT FROM THESE AMBITIOUS GOALS REMAIN UNCLEAR, BUT CONTINUED MANEUVERING BY MORALES BERMUDEZ IS CERTAIN. (CONFIDENTIAL NOFORN)// E-2 INDPET-2

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EAST ASIA BRIEF 183-75.4

1.//JAPAN: JAPANESE UNION LEADERS ARE LOOKING FOR A FACE-SAVING GESTURE FROM THE GOVERNMENT SO THEY CAN CUT SHORT THE STRIKE LAUNCHED BY RAILWAY AND OTHER PUBLIC WORKERS ON THURSDAY.//4

//THE ILLEGAL WALKOUT, AFFECTING NEARLY 19 MILLION COMMUTERS, IS DESIGNED TO DRAMATIZE THE DEMAND OF PUBLIC EMPLOYEES FOR THE RIGHT TO STRIKE—A CONTENTIOUS ISSUE THAT HAS KEPT LABOR AND GOVERNMENT AT LOGGERHEADS FOR MORE THAN 20 YEARS. UNION LEADERS APPARENTLY LAUNCHED THE STRIKE WITH SOME RELUCTANCE. ORIGINALLY THE CAMPAIGN WAS TIMED TO COINCIDE WITH THE RELEASE OF A DEFINITIVE GOVERNMENT DECISION ON THE ISSUE, BUT THE GOVERNMENT DELAYED THE RELEASE, AND UNION LEADERS NOW FEAR THAT UNLESS THE STRIKE IS CURTAILED PUBLIC OPINION WILL TURN AGAINST THEM. A SIMILAR WALKOUT IN 1973 RESULTED IN WIDESPREAD PUBLIC INDIGNATION, AIMED LARGELY AT THE STRIKING WORKERS.//4

3 //THE GOVERNMENT IS UNLIKELY TO COMPROMISE IN ANY MEANINGFUL
2 WAY. PUBLIC EMPLOYEES HAVE NOT ONLY LONG BEEN THE MOST MILITANT
1 AND POLITICALLY ACTIVE OF ALL UNION WORKERS, BUT THEY ARE ALSO

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CLOSELY ALLIED WITH THE SOCIALIST PARTY, THE MAJOR OPPONENT OF THE RULING LIBERAL DEMOCRATS. IN ANY CASE, THE CONSERVATIVES UNDOUBTEDLY CALCULATE THAT POPULAR REACTION TO THE TRANSPORTATION TIE-UP WILL WORK TO THEIR ADVANTAGE. {CONFIDENTIAL}//Y

2. CHINA: A STRONGLY WORDED PEOPLE'S DAILY ARTICLE ON TUESDAY IS TANTAMOUNT TO AN OPEN CHALLENGE OF NORTH VIETNAMESE OCCUPATION OF THE SPRATLY ISLANDS.Y

MUCH OF THE ARTICLE WAS DEVOTED TO A JUSTIFICATION OF CHINA'S CLAIM TO "INDISPUTABLE SOVEREIGNTY" OVER ALL ISLANDS IN THE SOUTH CHINA SEA.Y

HANOI IS NOT SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED IN THE ARTICLE, BUT IT NOTED THAT "MANY OF THE ISLANDS" ARE STILL NOT IN CHINESE HANDS, AN OBVIOUS REFERENCE TO VIETNAMESE OCCUPATION OF THE SPRATLYS. EMPHASIZING THE IMPORTANCE CHINA ATTACHES TO ITS CLAIM, THE ARTICLE LINKED PEKING'S DETERMINATION TO "LIBERATE" TAIWAN WITH ITS DEMAND THAT ALL ISLANDS IN THE SOUTH CHINA SEA BE RETURNED TO CHINESE CONTROL.Y

1 THE ISSUE OF SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE ISLANDS HAS TROUBLED

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WHEN CHINA TOOK OVER THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE - CONTROLLED PARACEL ISLANDS, 500 MILES NORTH OF THE SPRATLYS. THE DISPUTE ASSUMED GREATER IMPORTANCE TO PEKING LAST SPRING WHEN THE NORTH VIETNAMESE TOOK CONTROL OF SEVERAL OF THE SPRATLYS FROM THE FORMER SAIGON GOVERNMENT. {CONFIDENTIAL}4

3.//VIETNAM: VIETNAMESE PROPAGANDA ATTACKS AGAINST THAILAND ARE AGAIN MOUNTING AS HANOI PRESSES ITS DEMAND THAT BANGKOK ABANDON COOPERATION WITH THE US ON SECURITY MATTERS.//4

//A RECENT VIETNAMESE BROADCAST, FOR EXAMPLE, HAS LABELED AS "NONSENSE" FOREIGN MINISTER CHATCHAI'S RECENT CONDEMNATION OF HANOI'S PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR THE LAO COMMUNISTS DURING LAST WEEK'S THAI-LAO BORDER CLASHES. THE BROADCAST MAINTAINED THAT BANGKOK, BY ATTEMPTING TO CONNECT HANOI WITH THE CLASHES, WAS SEEKING TO JUSTIFY CONTINUED THAI "COLLUSION" WITH THE US.//4

//THE NORTH VIETNAMESE RECENTLY HAVE GONE WELL BEYOND THEIR EARLIER DEMANDS FOR THE RETURN OF AIRCRAFT FLOWN TO

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THAILAND DURING THE LAST STAGES OF THE VIETNAM WAR BY NOW
PUBLICLY PRESSING BANGKOK TO END U-2 FLIGHTS FROM THAILAND AND
REMOVE THE VESTIGES OF THE US MILITARY PRESENCE THERE.//4

//FOREIGN MINISTER CHATCHAI'S TALKS IN WASHINGTON WILL HIT
ON SOME OF THESE ISSUES, AND THE NORTH VIETNAMESE OBVIOUSLY ARE
INTERESTED IN DRIVING THEIR MESSAGE HOME AT THIS TIME. {CONFI-
DENTIAL} // E-2 IMPDET.H

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EUROPEAN BRIEF 183-75.4

1. PORTUGAL: THE ABORTIVE MILITARY REBELLION WHICH WAS CRUSHED BY PRO-GOVERNMENT FORCES HAS CLAIMED ITS FIRST POLITICAL VICTIMS, ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF CARLOS FABIAO AND SECURITY CHIEF OTELO DE CARVALHO. THE GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCED THAT BOTH RESIGNED ON THURSDAY, BUT DID NOT LINK THEIR RESIGNATIONS WITH THE LEFTIST REBELLION.4

THE ANTI-COMMUNIST MAJORITY IN THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL HAD SOUGHT THEIR DISMISSAL FOR WEEKS BECAUSE BOTH MEN OPENLY ENCOURAGED LEFTIST DISSIDENT GROUPS WITHIN THE ARMED FORCES.4

GENERAL FABIAO, ONCE ONE OF PORTUGAL'S MOST HIGHLY RESPECTED MILITARY OFFICERS, HAS RECEIVED MUCH OF THE BLAME FOR THE DIVISIVE POLITICAL FACTIONALISM IN THE ARMY. LAST MONTH, HE WAS SEVERELY CRITICIZED FOR GIVING IN TO THE DEMANDS OF REBELLIOUS SOLDIERS IN THE NORTH. ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS RECENTLY, HE APPEARED TO GIVE HIS APPROVAL TO RADICAL MOVEMENTS IN THE MILITARY. HE HAS BEEN REPLACED TEMPORARILY AS ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF BY AN OBSCURE INFANTRY LIEUTENANT COLONEL. 4

INASMUCH AS CARVALHO WAS STRIPPED OF HIS COMMANDS EARLIER THIS

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WEEK, HIS RESIGNATION WAS LARGELY PRO FORMA. CARVALHO IS WIDELY CREDITED WITH HAVING PLANNED AND EXECUTED THE APRIL 25, 1974 COUP WHICH ENDED NEARLY 50 YEARS OF AUTHORITARIAN RULE. HE HAD BECOME THE STANDARD-BEARER OF THE RADICAL LEFT, HOWEVER, AND IN RECENT WEEKS THE COMMUNISTS ALSO RUSHED TO HIS DEFENSE AS HE CAME INCREASINGLY UNDER ATTACK FOR HIS FAILURE TO SUPPORT GOVERNMENT POLICIES. 4

PRESIDENT COSTA GOMES HAS ANNOUNCED THAT THE GOVERNMENT WILL WITHHOLD JUDGMENT ON WHO WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PARATROOPERS' REBELLION UNTIL AN OFFICIAL INQUIRY CAN BE HELD. FIFTY ONE OFFICERS AND ENLISTED MEN CAPTURED DURING THE UPRISING ARE BEING HELD UNDER DETENTION IN THE NORTH. 4

IN THE ABSENCE OF FORMAL CHARGES, BOTH THE SOCIALIST AND POPULAR DEMOCRATIC PARTIES HAVE RUSHED TO SEIZE THE POLITICAL INITIATIVE BY BLAMING THE COMMUNISTS. SOCIALIST LEADER MARIO SOARES SAID THE "PRINCIPAL GUILT" RESTS WITH THE "MINORITY PARTIES"--A EUPHEMISM FOR ALL PARTIES LEFT OF THE SOCIALISTS--HEADED BY THE COMMUNISTS. THE POPULAR DEMOCRATS CHARGED THAT THE

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COMMUNISTS WERE GUILTY OF CREATING THE CONDITIONS WHICH LED

TO THE MUTINY. WHILE COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERS DISCREETLY AVOIDED ANY DIRECT PARTICIPATION, MILITARY OFFICERS BELIEVED TO HAVE CLOSE TIES TO THE PARTY DID APPEAR TO PLAY A MAJOR ROLE. THE COMMUNISTS ARE ALSO VULNERABLE BECAUSE OF THEIR STRIDENT CALLS FOR THE GOVERNMENT'S RESIGNATION JUST PRIOR TO THE REBELLION.4

ON WEDNESDAY, BOTH COSTA GOMES AND FOREIGN MINISTER MELO ANTUNES WERE QUICK TO REASSURE THE PUBLIC THAT THE LEADERSHIP WOULD CONTINUE TO PURSUE ITS AIMS NOW THAT THE MAJOR LEFTIST OPPOSITION IN THE MILITARY HAS BEEN CRUSHED. THE PRESIDENT REITERATED HIS FAITH IN A DEMOCRATIC, PLURALISTIC SYSTEM FOR PORTUGAL, SAYING THAT LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS--SCHEDULED FOR EARLY NEXT SPRING--WOULD BE HELD AS PROMISED.4

ANTUNES, FIRMLY REBUTTING COMMUNIST DEMANDS FOR REVAMPING THE GOVERNMENT, SAID THAT LEFTIST CRITICISM OF ITS PRESENT COMPOSITION HAD BEEN UNFOUNDED AND THAT IT WAS ENTIRELY CAPABLE OF CARRYING OUT ITS DUTIES. ANTUNES ADDED THAT THE POLITICAL PARTIES--THE COMMUNISTS INCLUDED--WILL CONTINUE TO PLAY AN ESSENTIAL

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ROLE IN THE REVOLUTION. {CONFIDENTIAL} 4

2. SPAIN: THE LIMITED PARDON ISSUED BY SPANISH KING JUAN CARLOS ON NOVEMBER 26 APPEARS TO HAVE DONE LITTLE TO HEAL POLITICAL WOUNDS OR REDUCE THE PROSPECT FOR AN OPEN BREAK BETWEEN THE NEW REGIME AND THE LEFTIST OPPOSITION. 4

YESTERDAY, AS 81 FOREIGN DELEGATIONS--INCLUDING THE PRESIDENTS OF THREE COMMON MARKET COUNTRIES--MET IN MADRID TO HONOR THE NEW KING, THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT CONTINUED ITS CENSORSHIP POLICIES BY SEIZING THE LATEST EDITION OF THE COUNTRY'S LEADING POLITICAL WEEKLY MAGAZINE BECAUSE IT CONTAINED A SPECULATIVE ARTICLE ABOUT JUAN CARLOS' LIBERALIZATION PLANS. ON WEDNESDAY, POLICE HAD ANNOUNCED THE ARREST OF 30 YOUNG PEOPLE, MOSTLY STUDENTS, IN NORTHWESTERN SPAIN FOR HOLDING AN ILLEGAL POLITICAL MEETING, AND THERE WERE SCATTERED REPORTS OF OTHER ARRESTS ELSEWHERE IN SPAIN. 4

MANY LEFTISTS REACTED ANGRILY TO THE KING'S ROYAL PARDON, AND RIOT POLICE ON THURSDAY BROKE UP TWO DEMONSTRATIONS--IN MADRID AND IN THE BASQUE CITY OF SAN SEBASTIAN--IN WHICH NOISY CROWDS DEMANDED TOTAL AMNESTY FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS. THE POLITICAL OPPOSITION HAS

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ALWAYS POSSIBLE WITH ESTABLISHED POLITICAL FORCES, THE NO-QUARTER TACTICS OF SPAIN'S ASSORTED TERRORIST GROUPS VIRTUALLY GUARANTEE THAT AT LEAST SOME OF THEM WILL CHALLENGE HIM, NO MATTER WHAT POLICY HE PURSUES. 4

THERE ARE THREE MAIN CURRENTS OF SPANISH TERRORISM: REGIONAL NATIONALISM, THE ULTRARIGHT, AND THE EXTREME LEFT. EACH PURSUES DIFFERENT, AT TIMES CONFLICTING, GOALS. VIOLENCE IS THE ONLY COMMON THREAD AMONG THEM. SINCE 1968, TERRORISM HAS CLAIMED THE LIVES OF AT LEAST 100 SPANIARDS, APPROXIMATELY ONE THIRD OF WHOM WERE TERRORISTS THEMSELVES. MORE THAN HALF THE FATALITIES HAVE OCCURRED IN THE PAST TWO YEARS, AND SINCE MID-OCTOBER, HARDLY A DAY HAS PASSED WITHOUT AT LEAST ONE TERRORIST INCIDENT. 4

MUCH OF THE VIOLENCE IS ATTRIBUTED TO A SMALL GUERRILLA ORGANIZATION CALLED BASQUE FATHERLAND AND LIBERTY. ALTHOUGH GENERALLY CONSIDERED MARXIST, ITS PRINCIPAL FACTION EMPHASIZES NATIONALISM; THIS FACTION AVOIDS ALLIANCES WITH OTHER MOVEMENTS. A SECOND FACTION WOULD PREFER AN AUTONOMOUS, MARXIST-LENINIST BASQUE STATE WITHIN A MARXIST FEDERATION OF SPANISH STATES; THIS FACTION WELCOMES

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THE COLLABORATION OF OTHER GROUPS.4

BASQUE MILITANTS ARE USUALLY RECRUITED FROM UNIVERSITIES AND HIGH SCHOOLS, WHERE THEY HAVE RECEIVED A STRICT CATHOLIC EDUCATION. THE NUMBER OF MILITANTS, EITHER UNDERGROUND IN SPAIN OR IN EXILE IN SOUTHERN FRANCE, DOES NOT EXCEED 500 AND MAY BE CONSIDERABLY SMALLER. ANOTHER ESTIMATED 700 ARE IN SPANISH JAILS.4

MOST OF THE POPULATION OF THE FOUR BASQUE PROVINCES IN THE NORTHWEST DOES NOT CONDONE VIOLENCE; NOT ALL BASQUES ARE CONVINCED THAT THE MILITANTS' GOAL OF INDEPENDENCE IS DESIRABLE. MANY WOULD BE SATISFIED WITH SOME AUTONOMY, PARTICULARLY IN ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL MATTERS. THE PEOPLE OF TWO OF THE BASQUE PROVINCES, ALAVA AND NAVARRA, ARE MUCH LESS RESTIVE THAN THOSE IN THE OTHER TWO. ALAVA AND NAVARRA HAVE GREATER ADMINISTRATIVE PRIVILEGES AND FINANCIAL INDEPENDENCE--TAX EARNINGS, FOR EXAMPLE, ARE NOT SENT TO MADRID--THAN ANY OTHER SPANISH PROVINCE. THESE PRIVILEGES WERE A REWARD BESTOWED BY FRANCO FOR HELP DURING THE CIVIL WAR.4

ON NOVEMBER 11, THE CABINET ORDERED THE PREPARATION OF A NEW ADMINISTRATIVE STATUTE FOR THE OTHER BASQUE PROVINCES. ALTHOUGH

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THE NEWS WAS FAVORABLY RECEIVED. ANOTHER DECREE AUTHORIZING THE TEACHING AND USE OF MINORITY LANGUAGES HAD LESS APPEAL. THE BASQUES FELT THIS ACTION DID NOT GIVE THEM ANYTHING THAT WAS NOT RIGHTFULLY THEIRS AND WERE FURTHER IRKED BY A CLAUSE CONFIRMING THAT CASTILIAN SPANISH IS THE COUNTRY'S OFFICIAL LANGUAGE.4

BASQUE NATIONALISM IS, IN ANY CASE, A MINORITY MOVEMENT IN THE BASQUE REGION. INDUSTRIALIZATION OF THE AREA DURING THE PAST TWO DECADES HAS ATTRACTED AN ANNUAL AVERAGE OF 20,000 WORKERS FROM OTHER PARTS OF SPAIN. TODAY, LESS THAN HALF OF THE 3 MILLION INHABITANTS OF THE FOUR PROVINCES ARE OF BASQUE ORIGIN.4

THE BASQUE NATIONALIST PARTY IS MORE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE BASQUE POPULATION THAN THE FATHERLAND AND LIBERTY GROUP. THE NATIONALIST PARTY IS CAST IN A CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC MOLD AND EMPHASIZES BOTH DEMOCRATIC AND BASQUE TRADITIONS. IT IS THE BEST ORGANIZED AND MOST EXPERIENCED POLITICAL GROUP IN THE AREA, AND IT COULD PLAY A LEADING ROLE IF MADRID RELAXED ITS BAN ON EXPRESSIONS OF BASQUE NATIONALISM. WITHOUT FURTHER CONCESSIONS FROM THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT, HOWEVER, BASQUE FATHERLAND AND LIBERTY IS LIKELY TO GAIN

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IN POPULARITY, PARTICULARLY AMONG THE YOUNG. ITS EXPLOITS GIVE IT AN IMAGE OF "DOING SOMETHING," AND THE HARSH REPRESSION BY THE GOVERNMENT CREATES SYMPATHY FOR ITS CAUSE.4

SIMILAR, BUT LESS INTENSE, SENTIMENT IN FAVOR OF AUTONOMY EXISTS IN THE FOUR NORTHEASTERN PROVINCES THAT MAKE UP CATALONIA. WHEN THE ECONOMY OF THE AREA PROSPERS, AS IT HAS FOR MORE THAN A DECADE, LITTLE SERIOUS TALK IS HEARD ABOUT SEPARATISM. CATALANS IN GENERAL APPEAR MORE ATTRACTED TO COMMERCE THAN TO POLITICS. BARCELONA, FOR INSTANCE, RIVALS MADRID IN SIZE AND IS SPAIN'S MOST IMPORTANT INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL CENTER. CATALAN INDUSTRIALISTS ARE RELUCTANT TO SUPPORT MOVEMENTS THAT MIGHT DISTURB THEIR BUSINESS IN OTHER SPANISH PROVINCES.4

CATALAN POLITICAL OPPOSITION GROUPS ARE DIVIDED AND INEFFECTIVE. MOST ARE LED BY AGING PEOPLE WHO HAVE LITTLE APPEAL TO THE YOUNG. THE UNIFIED SOCIALIST PARTY OF CATALONIA--AN AFFILIATE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY--AS BEEN THE MOST PROMINENT RECENTLY. IT JOINED THE COMMUNIST-DOMINATED DEMOCRATIC JUNTA LAST YEAR AND RECENTLY DEMANDED THE RELEASE OF ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS AND THE

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ESTABLISHMENT OF PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENTS FOR BOTH SPAIN AND

CATALONIA. EXTREMIST GROUPS DO NOT OPERATE ON A LARGE SCALE.

THE BEST KNOWN, RED FLAG, HAS CONNECTIONS WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND IS ACTIVE AMONG STUDENTS AND LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.4

SPAIN'S POLITICAL OUTLAWS ARE NOT CONFINED TO THE FAR LEFT; TERRORISTS ARE QUITE STRONG ON THE FAR RIGHT. BEFORE FRANCO DIED, A GROUP CALLING ITSELF THE DEATH COMMANDOS WARNED 17 PROMINENT CATALANS ASSOCIATED WITH REFORM GROUPS TO LEAVE SPAIN WITHIN 24 HOURS AFTER THE GENERAL'S DEATH OR FACE ASSASSINATION.4

THE SPANISH NATIONAL SOCIALIST PARTY--COMPLETE WITH SWASTIKA--HAS OPERATED IN MADRID AND BARCELONA FOR A NUMBER OF YEARS. THE NATIONAL SOCIALISTS SPECIALIZE IN IDENTIFYING AND BOMBING "MARXIST" BOOKSTORES AND LEFTIST ORGANIZATIONS. THEY ONCE ATTEMPTED TO BURN DOWN THE PALACE OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF BARCELONA BECAUSE OF HIS SYMPATHETIC ATTITUDE TOWARD WORKERS' GRIEVANCES.4

ANOTHER GROUP, THE GUERRILLAS OF CHRIST THE KING, HAS GAINED CONSIDERABLE NOTORIETY BECAUSE OF ITS VIGILANTE-STYLE CAMPAIGN AGAINST BASQUE TERRORISTS. IN RECENT MONTHS, THE GROUP

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HAS EXECUTED SEVERAL BASQUES IN RETALIATION FOR TERRORIST ASSASSINATIONS OF SPANISH POLICEMEN. IT HAS ALSO CAUSED DIPLOMATIC PROBLEMS WITH FRANCE BECAUSE OF RAIDS ACROSS THE BORDER LOOKING FOR BASQUE EXILES. OVER THE YEARS, THE GROUP HAS BEEN EQUALLY HOSTILE TOWARD ANY OTHER GROUP THAT FAVORED ALTERING FRANCO'S SYSTEM.4

UNDER FRANCO, SPANISH ULTRARIGHT GROUPS HAD THE ADVANTAGE OF OPERATING AS FAIRLY OPEN, QUASI-LEGAL ENTITIES TOLERATED BY THE REGIME. RIGHT-WING EXTREMISTS HAVE BEEN INTERVIEWED IN THE PRESS AND AT LEAST TWO RIGHTIST ORGANIZATIONS HAVE BEEN CONDUCTING TRAINING CAMPS FOR URBAN WARFARE. THE ULTRARIGHTISTS HAVE A POLITICAL ARM CALLED NEW FORCE. LED BY BLAS PINAR, WHO WAS PROMINENT IN THE CIVIL WAR, THE ORGANIZATION DENOUNCES ANY DEVIATION FROM THE PRINCIPLES FRANCO SET OUT IN 1936. IT THEREFORE IS BASICALLY 4 ANTI-MONARCHICAL AND PRESUMABLY WILL OPPOSE JUAN CARLOS.4

OVER THE YEARS A VARIETY OF FAR-LEFT ANARCHIST GROUPS HAVE 2 APPEARED. MOST HAVE FADED AWAY WITHOUT MAKING MUCH IMPACT, 2 VICTIMS OF INTERNAL DISPUTES OR GOVERNMENT SUPPRESSION. THE

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ANTI-FASCIST AND PATRIOTIC REVOLUTIONARY FRONT IS AN IMPORTANT EXCEPTION. ORGANIZED IN 1971 BY MILITANTS OF A COMMUNIST SPLINTER GROUP, THE ORGANIZATION MAY NOW HAVE AS MANY AS 500 MEMBERS. MANY OF THEM ARE IN FRANCE, BUT THEY ARE EXPECTED TO RETURN TO SPAIN IN INCREASING NUMBERS NOW THAT FRANCO HAS DIED. 25X1C

//THE FRONT HAS PUT SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON PREPARING FOR INTENSIVE AND VIOLENT REVOLUTIONARY ACTION FOLLOWING FRANCO'S DEATH. [REDACTED] THIS GROUP HAS MADE JUAN CARLOS A PRIMARY TARGET FOR ASSASSINATION. THE FRONT'S DEEP-SEATED ANIMOSITY TOWARD THE US ALSO POSES A THREAT TO US PROPERTY AND US CITIZENS IN SPAIN. 25X1C

POLITICAL VIOLENCE IS VIRTUALLY CERTAIN TO BE A PROBLEM FOR JUAN CARLOS. IF, AS SEEMS LIKELY, HE ALLOWS FREER POLITICAL EXPRESSION, THE FAR LEFT WILL NOT BE SATISFIED AND THE ULTRARIGHT WILL BE OUTRAGED. TO THE EXTENT THAT SPANISH SOCIETY BECOMES MORE OPEN AND MORE TOLERANT OF DISSENT, THE PROSPECTS OF THE TERRORISTS' RALLYING SUPPORT WILL DWINDLE. WITH THIS IN MIND, AND WITH THE HOPE OF AVOIDING MAKING MARTYRS, SPANISH OFFICIALS MAY MODIFY THE HARSH

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-ANTI-TERRORIST LAW NOW ON THE BOOKS.4

JUAN CARLOS WILL VERY LIKELY STILL HAVE TROUBLE DEALING WITH TERRORISM. IF THE GOVERNMENT PURSUES LEFT-WING FANATICS WITH MORE VIGOR THAN IT DOES THE FANATICS ON THE FAR RIGHT, JUAN CARLOS WILL BE ACCUSED OF PERPETUATING THE FRANCO SYSTEM. IF THE CRACKDOWN IS APPLIED IN AN EVEN-HANDED MANNER, THE KING WILL RISK LOSING THE WHOLE-HEARTED SUPPORT OF A LARGE PART OF WHAT IS NOW THE SPANISH RULING CLASS. (SECRET ⁴NOFORN)4

4. CZECHOSLOVAKIA: THE PARTY DAILY RUDE PRAVO LAST FRIDAY ADDED A NEW FILLIP TO PRAGUE'S CONTINUING ATTACK ON MAOISM BY ASSERING THAT IT IS THE DUTY OF THE ENTIRE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT TO TAKE SIDES AGAINST PEKING.4

TWO SIGNED COMMENTARIES SET THE TONE OF THE UNUSUAL FULL-PAGE ASSAULT BY DESCRIBING PEKING'S FOREIGN POLICY AS FOMENTING TENSIONS AND OPPOSING DETENTE. THE CATALOG OF CHINESE SINS INCLUDES BREAKING RANKS WITH THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT AND BECOMING A "FACTUAL ALLY OF IMPERIALISM," THUS

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SAN MARINO, SWISS, GREEK, CYPRIOT, AND IRISH WERE CONSPICUOUSLY ABSENT FROM RUDE PRAVO'S LIST. THEIR INSISTENCE THAT ANTI-CHINESE POLEMICS HAVE NO PLACE AT AN ECPC HAS BEEN ONE OF THE OBSTACLES TO CONVENING THE CONFERENCE. A QUOTE FROM ITALIAN PARTY LEADER BERLINGUER IS GIVEN PRIDE OF PLACE, APPARENTLY IN ORDER TO GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT ITALIAN COMMUNISTS HAVE RESOLUTELY TAKEN SIDES AGAINST THE CHINESE. THIS, HOWEVER, APPEARS A GROSS MISREPRESENTATION OF THE ITALIAN PARTY'S POSITION, AND COULD WELL DRAW ANSWERING FIRE. {CONFIDENTIAL} E-2, IMPDET. BH

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25X1A

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